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Survey

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BROKSKAT PHONETIC READER

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Dardic languages belong to the Indian branch of the Indo-Iranian languages. Though they agree with the Indo-Aryan languages in some respects and with the Iranian languages in some other respects they are considered to be a sub-family of the Indo-Aryan languages. This sub-group consists of three groups of languages : 1. ka:fir group 2. kho :–wa:r group 3. Da:rd group.

The Dard Group

The Shina languages of this group are spoken in Gilgit, Gurez, Chilas, Kargil, Dras, the Indus valley and Swat Kohistan. Ka:shmi:ri:, the only literary language of all the Dardic languages is spoken in Kashmir valley and other valleys around it. Kohista:ni is spoken in the Indus valley and Swat Kohistan. It has heavily borrowed from Pashto, which belongs to the eastern branch of the Iranian family, and so is very different from other Dardic languages.

Brokskat :

Brokskat (Brok means 'rock' and Skat means 'language') is a member of the Shina sub-group of languages. Its speakers are mostly Buddhists and are called Brokpa (pa means 'man'). Their number according to 1961 census, is 544. They live in Central Ladakh. It is an area of about hundred miles in length in the Indus valley from the borders of Baltistan to thirty miles beyond

Leh. According to their folk history, the Brokpa: migrated originally from Gilgit about four hundred years ago and occupied the whole of Baltistan. Later on they moved to other areas. They were originally Buddhists and some of them were later converted to Islam.

Garkhon, which is the biggest village where Brokskat is spoken, is situated in Central Ladakh at the bottom of the Indus valley, which is a narrow rocky gorge. It is about 70 kilometres north-east of Kargil. It is about 9000 feet above sea level and is the lowest and warmest place in the whole of Ladakh. There is less snow in this place in the winter and one can see green vegetation including apple, apricot and mulberry trees, cereal plants and grape vines in the spring. There are other Brokskat speaking villages like Darchiks, Chulichan, Gurgurdo, Batalik and Dah around Garkhon within the radius of 15 kilometres.

The data were primarily collected from one informant by the name of Gulam Rahim who was 26 years old. They were however checked with others also. The primary informant knew Urdu, Balti and Ladakhi in addition to his mother-tongue, Brokskat.

Previous Work

In the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Grierson has given an account of this language under the name 'Brokpa: of Dah-Hanu:'. Frederic Drew has given a brief account of the Brokpa: in his book *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories.* There are a few other missionaries like Shaw and Francke who worked on this language but their works are not easily accessible. T. Grahame Bailey's *Grammar of the Shina Language* gives a good historical background to the Shina languages.

Organisation of the Reader :

A brief biographical account of the Brokskat language and a brief note on the previous works on this language are given in the first chapter. A brief general description of the speech organs and the speech sounds are given in the second chapter. The third chapter deals with the description of the Brokskat sounds. The description of each sound gives an account of the movements of the speech organs for the production of the sound, its phonetic description of the sound and its distribution with examples. The phonetic drills are given in the fourth chapter. A brief phonemic analysis is presented in the fifth chapter. The sixth chapter suggests a writing system for the Brokskat language.

The above classification of consonants is based on the manner of articulation. They may be further classified on the basis of the articulation. The common points of articulation are bilabial, labio-dental, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar and uvular. The bilabial consonants are articulated with two lips. The labiodental consonants are produced by pressing the lower lip against the upper teeth. The dental consonants are produced by pressing the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth. The alveolar consonants are produced by pressing the tip of the tongue against the alveolar region. The retroflex consonants are produced by curling the tip of the tongue back and pressing it against the hard palate. The palatal sounds are produced by pressing the front of the tongue against the hard palate. The velar sounds are produced by pressing the back of the tongue against the soft palate. The uvular sounds are produced by the vibration of the uvula.

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE BROKSKAT SOUNDS

3.1 Vowels:

	Front	*Central*	*Back*
High	i i. i:		u u. u:
Highermid	e e:		o o. o:
Low mid	ɛ		ʌ
Low		a a. a:	

[i] To produce this vowel the front part of the tongue is raised as high as possible towards the hard palate. The height of the tongue nearly closes the air passage but not quite. The lips are spread as when gently smiling. The soft palate is raised to block the entry of air into the nasal passage and the vocal cords are vibrating.

This is high front unrounded short vowel.

It occurs in the initial and medial positions. When this vowel occurs in the final position it is little longer but shorter than the long counterpart described below :

isu·	'to come'
in̄ǰʌn	'engine'
ist̠ifa·	'resignation'

ima:nḍa:R	'honest'
imḍa:ḍṭʰis	'to take care'
šiš	'head'
liẓis	'to shut'
ṣkilbu·	'young'
ṣiŋkʰʌn	'carpenter'
Rʌŋḍis	'to dye'

[i:] To produce this vowel the positions of tongue and lips are the same as for the vowel [i] except that the tongue and the lips are tense and the duration is slightly longer.

This is high front unrounded long vowel.

It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

i:ḍis	'to allow'
ki:t	'trousers'
gi:p	'tongue'
hʌti:pa·	'shopkeeper'
asi:Ra·	'to us'
kuni:li·	'pigeon'
lḍi:ŋibus	'to float'
kʌni:Rbyʌs	'earth-worm'
hʌṭi:Rʌskispa·	'palmist'

[e] To produce this vowel the front part of the tongue is raised and the height of the tongue is higher mid. The lips are spread. The soft palate is raised and the vocal cords are vibrating. This is highermid unrounded short vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

eRi:RʌRa:zis	'to flatter'
pekeṭ	'full'
beŋgʌn	'brinjal'
tenik	'waiting'
kemeṭ	'loan'
hekmʌṭ	'courage'
ṭʰemska·	'stair-case'
nʌŋ meṭkʌŋ meṭ	'tribal people'

[e:] This vowel is produced in the same way as [e] except for the length. The tongue and lips are tense and the duration is longer than [e].

This is highermid unrounded long vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

e:k	'one'
ḍe:s	'country'
ke:kpo·	'although'
me:ŋga·	'to slip'
nʌmRe:l	'aeroplane'
gRe:ṭibus	'to travel'
čʰe:sibus	'to believe'
ne:šikṭʰis	'to insult'

[ɛ·] To produce this vowel the front part of the tongue is raised and the height of the tongue is lowermid. The lips are spread. The soft palate is in its raised position and the vocal cords are vibrating.

This is lowermid front unrounded half-long vowel. It occurs in the final position.

anɛ·	'here'
a:lɛ·	'hear'
be:nɛ·	'out'
kiʀzɛ·	'pulse'
vʌgulɛ·	'bank of the river'
bʌʀa:ŋɖɛ·	'verandah'
kʰʌʀ skɛ·	'down'
sṭoŋzḍɛ·	'oath'

[ʌ] To produce this vowel the back part of the tongue is raised and the height of the tongue is lowermid. The lips are spread. The soft palate is in its raised position and the vocal cords vibrate. This is lowermid unrounded short vowel. It occurs in the medial position.

cʌʀ	'garden'
sʌʀʌŋ	'brown colour'
dʌkčuŋ	'beans'
qʌtʌʀ	'knife'
mʌbža·	'peacock'
zʌma:nʌṭ	'bail'
sʌmʌṇḍʌʀ	'ocean'
čʌkpʰlṭʰ is	'to worship'
a:bezʌmzʌm	'holy water'

[u] When pronouncing this vowel the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate and it nearly closes the passage. It is in the highest position and the tip of the tongue is retracted from the lower teeth. The lips are rounded. The soft palate is in its raised position and the vocal cords are vibrating.

This is high back rounded short vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions. When this vowel occurs in the final

position it is little longer but shorter than the long counterpart described below :

ul	'cave'
učus	'to pick up'
utus	'to jump'
unis	'to nurse'
uʀpoṭʰis	'to hurry'
unismočʰyi·	'key'
bun	'village'
buṣums	'sickle'
muguʀ	'bowl'
munibus	'to swoon'
ṣupṣupṭʰis	'to whisper'

[u:] This vowel is produced in the same way as the previous short [u] except for the long duration and tenseness.

This is high back rounded long vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

u:zi·	'mouth'
u:ŋa'	'and'
u:ňǰuk	'face'
u:ziʀa:zis	'to speak'
ču:to·	'deal'
bu:šis	'to chirp'
bu:de:ṣ	'twelve'
hʌlḍu:ʀo·	'yellow'
bu:mbʌʀikṭʰis	'to bless'

[o] In the production of this vowel the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate and the tongue height is higher mid. The lips are rounded. The soft palate is raised from its position and the vocal cords vibrate.

This is higher mid back rounded short vowel. When this vowel occurs in the final position it is little longer but shorter than the long counterpart described below.

got	'house'
ṣono·	'butter'
ṭoṭa·	'parrot'
gonpa·	'temple'
ɣ̣onḍil	'cuckoo'
x̣oRma·	'date fruit'
ṣo·	'white'
ya:Rbo·	'before'
ḍoqmo·	'narrow'
tʰu:Ro·	'skin'
pʌžulo·	'shepherd'
x̣oRx̣u:to·	'throat'
bʌŋmiya:ṭo·	'midwife'

[o:] When pronouncing this sound the positions of the lips and the height of the tongue are the same as for the previous short [o]. The only difference is the duration which is longer for this and the tenseness of the muscles.

This is highermid back rounded long vowel. It occurs in the medial position.

lo:ḍo·	'red'
ṣo:bes	'sixteen'

čʰo:ṭibus	'to advise'
bʌngo:bi·	'cabbage'
miRgo:sibus	'to reject'
ko:gʌñya:la·	'none'
tʰo:siṭʌRa:zis	'to exaggerate'
ṣo:ŋonʌx̣ʌlis	'to yawn'

[a] To produce this vowel the tongue is held low down on the floor of the mouth. The back of the tongue is in raised position. The lips are neutral. The tip of the tongue is somewhat retracted from the lower teeth. The soft palate is in the raised position and the vocal cords are vibrating.

This is low central unrounded short vowel. It occurs in initial position.

When this vowel occurs in the final position it is slightly longer than [a] but shorter than long counterpart described below.

aRis	'to bring'
amšis	'to forget'
aboni'	'near'
aboniḍis	'to love'
alʌṇṭik	this much'
aḍiṭužʌq	'Sunday'
ma:Ra·	'to us'
zilpa·	'dew'
lʌgʌRḍa·	'signal'
ṭʰʌma:Ra·	'shore'
ɣ̣omčʌnla·	'lazyman'

[a:] This vowel is produced in the same way as the previous one except that the duration is longer and the muscles

3.2 Consonants

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Back velar	Glottal
Stops:	Voiceless	p	t̪	t	ṭ		k	q	
	Voiceless Aspirated	pʰ	t̪ʰ	tʰ			kʰ		
	Voiced	b	d̪	d	ḍ		g		
Affiricate	Voiceless			c		č			
	Voiceless Aspirated					čʰ			
	Voiced					ǰ			
Fricative	Voiceless	f		s	ṣ	š		x̣	h
	Volced	v		z	ẓ	ž		ɣ̣	
Nasal		m	n̪	n	ṇ	ñ	ŋ		
Lateral				l	ḷ				
Trill				R					
Semivowel		w				y			

are tense. This is low central unrounded long vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

a:m	'mango'
a:ṣ	'leopard'
a:šboŋ	'till today'
a:ttiRgo·	'skeleton'
a:ẓoys	'to rain'
a:yebo·	'parents'
ba:R	'stream'
čʰa:ṭ	'enough'
d̪a:žis	'to scorch'
sa:bon	'soap'

3. 2 Consonants :

[p] When pronouncing this sound, the air stream is blocked completely by the lips for a moment. The air behind the closure is compressed due to pressure from the lungs. When the lips are opened to produce the following sound the air rushes out making an explosive sound. The vocal cords do not vibrate.

This consonant is called the voiceless bilabial stop.

It occurs in all three positions *viz.*, initial, medial and final.

punis	'to ride'
pʌžulo·	'shepherd'
pʌla:Ris	'to erase'
pʌn̪de:ṣ	'fifteen'
pu:ṣočʰinis	'to spin'
nupla·	'drown'
čʰʌRpa·	'rain'

k^{h}ʌpi·	'spoon'
lʌqṣups	'gloves'
yunpa:hʌṯ	'left hand'
gip	'tongue'
kʀʌp	'armour'
gyʌp	'stream'
melʌp	'flame'
muḷṯup	'fist'

[ṯ] In the production of the sound [ṯ], the air stream is blocked completely by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the upper teeth. The air behind the closure is compressed dne to pressure from the lungs. When the tip of the tongue is removed from the upper teeth, this sound is produced with an explosion. The vocal cords do not vibrate.

This consonant is called the voiceless dental stop.

It occurs in all the three positions.

ṯʌkṣa·	'loom'
ṯʌlsiʀ	'ashes'
ṯa:shʌʀʌŋ	'afternoon'
ṯʌkʌbuʀ	'pride'
ṯʀa:bušu·	'sixty'
nu:ṯo·	'nose'
na:ṯeṯ^{h}is	'to prohibit'
aḏiṯužʌq	'Sunday'
hʌṯi:ʀa:skispa·	'astrologer'
bʌkšʌṯ	'calf' (she)

čʌnp^{h}eṯ	'midnight'
ʀʌskuṯ	'cotton'
ḏuniyʌṯ	'world'

[t] When pronouncing this sound the tip of the tongue curles back and touches the alveolar region blocking the air stream. The air behind the closure is compressed by pressure from the lungs. When the tongue is removed from the alveolar region, the air rushes out with an explosion. The vocal cords do not vibrate

This consonant is called the voiceless alveolar stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

tʌnis	'to destroy'
tʌʀʌis	'to cool'
tʌŋk^{h}uŋ	'low'
tuŋgʌʀa·	'ginger'
denikṯ^{h}is	'to wait'
cu:to·	'deaf'
pu:tu·	'behind'
p^{h}ita:s	'to break'
ñyu:tis	'to cut with scissors'
ba:toshʌʀʌŋ	'suddenly'
ki:t	'trousers'
gut	'thumb'
se:t	'royal'
žʌt	'goat's hair'
vʌskʌt	'petticoat'

[ṭ] When pronouncing this sound the tip of the tongu curles back and touches the hard palate blocking the air stream.

The air behind the closure is compressed by pressure from the lungs. When the tongue is withdrawn from the hard palate, the air rushes out with an explosion. The vocal cords do not vibrate.

This consonant is called the voiceless retroflex stop.

It occurs in medial position.

guḷṭʌn	'grape'
muḷṭup	'fist'
aṣṭu:ŋs	'eighteen'
a:ṣṭ	'eight'
ma:ṣṭʌR	'teacher'

[k] For producing this sound, the back of the tongue is raised and pressed against the soft palate blocking the air stream completely. The air behind the closure is compressed by pressure from the lungs. When the contact of the back of the tongue is released by lowering the tongue, the air rushes out through the mouth producing an explosive sound. The vocal cords do not vibrate.

This consonant is called the voiceless velar stop.

It occurs in all the three positions.

kʌni	'ear'
kuñǰok	'God'
kuni:li·	'pigeon'
kuRkum	'saffron'
koŋot̪ʰis	'to comb' (hair)
akus	'to dig'
šuko·	'dry'
tuksbRul	'snake'

šukRužʌq	'friday'
t̪ʰʌkskʌn	'spider'
čok	'all'
čoRok	'suspicion'
t̪ʰa:skik	'till that place'
luŋḍRʌk	'storm'
mikṣok	'eye–lid'

[q] For producing this sound the back of the tongue is raised and pressed against the back velum blocking the air stream at that point. The air behind the closure is compressed by pressure from the lungs. When contact of the tongue is released the air rushes out through the mouth with an explosive sound. The vocal cords do not vibrate.

This consonant is called the voiceless back velar stop.

It occurs in all the three positions.

qu·	'crow'
qʌtʌR	'knife'
qont̪ʰis	'to hear'
qa:nun	'law'
qu:nut̪ʰis	'to prick as thorn'
bʌqmu·	'bride'
lʌqt̪il	'palm'
lʌqčʰuks spoyit̪ʰis	'to transplant'
žʌq	'day'
nʌq	'difficulty'
t̪ubʌq	'gun'
pʰyʌq	'prayer'
pʰit̪oq	'evening'

[pʰ] This sound is produced exactly like [p] except that the air is released with a heavy puff of air called aspiration. This consonant is called the voiceless aspirated bilabial stop.

It occurs both initially and medially but not finally.

pʰʌta	'bald'
pʰʌqṣok	'secret'
pʰu:fuṣ	'oven made of three stones'
pʰʌtoʀo·	'coarse'
čʌnpʰet̪	'midnight'
čʰʌqpʰult̪ʰis	'to worship'
lonpʰo·	'artist'

[t̪ʰ] This sound is produced exactly like [t̪] except that the air is released with a heavy puff of air called aspiration. This consonant is called the voiceless aspirated dental stop.

It occurs both initially and medially but not finally.

t̪ʰis	'to do:
t̪ʰʌpʌŋ	'now'
t̪ʰʌma:ʀa·	'shore'
t̪ʰulit̪ʰis	'to climb'
t̪ʰikspa:ya:l	'drop'
ut̪ʰis	'to stand'
ɕot̪ʰa:ʀi·	'ring'
byʌt̪ʰʌŋ	'desert'
čʰeʀt̪ʰʌks	'hedge'
čʌkt̪ʰuʀ	'chain'

[tʰ] This sound is produced exactly like [t] except that the air is released with a heavy puff of air called aspiration. This consonant is called the voiceless aspirated alveolar stop.

It occurs both initially and medially but not finally.

tʰi·	'throne'
tʰit̪	'sneeze'
tʰul	'egg'
tʰʌptʰup	'dark'
tʰi:kypo·	'in brief'
otʰi·	'lip'
potʰi·	'grand-daughter'
t̪ṣa:tʰupt̪ʰis	'switch off the light'

[kʰ] This sound is produced exactly like [k] except that the air is released with a heavy puff of air called aspiration. This is called the voiceless aspirated velar stop.

It occurs both initially and medially but not finally.

kʰʌbu·	'bud'
kʰʌpi·	'spoon'
kʰʌzʌs	'fruit'
kʰʌñčis	'to tie'
kʰʌst̪uŋb^s	'fasting'
lokʰoʀ	'year'
luŋkʰoʀ	'cyclone'
pʌŋkʰa·	'fan'
kʰʌʀkʰoʀ	'around'
lʌgʌʀd̪a:kʰʌʀd̪a:t̪ʰis	'speak by gestures'

[b] This sound is produced exactly like [p] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This consonant is called the voiced bilabial stop.

It occurs in all the three positions.

bun	'village'
ba:R	'mountain'
bʌRo·	'husband'
bʌhis	'to plough'
bʌŋzḏuR	'race'
aboni·	'near'
ṯʌsbi·	'rosary'
ldʌŋbu·	'ladder'
mʌbža·	'peacock'
čhʌRbu·	'button'
gula:b	'rose'
ǰʌbǰʌb	'humble'
gʌRi:b	'poor'
ǰʌva:b	'answer'

[d̪] This sound is produced exactly like [t̪] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This consonant is called the voiced dental stop.

It occurs in all the three positions.

d̪a:s̪	'ten'
d̪a:lčini·	'cinnamon'
d̪Renmo·	'bear'
d̪ʌmsibus	'gather'
d̪ʌRzi:pa·	'tailor'

sʌmd̪ʌl	'moustache'
abonid̪is	'to love'
bulḏum	'quiet'
st̪oŋzd̪ɛ·	'oath'
ad̪it̪užʌq	'sunday'
šečhenḏ	'strong'
lǰit̪čʌnḏ	'heavy'
bʌqʌbʌnḏ	'gardener'

[d] This sound is produced exactly like [t] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This consonant is called voiced alveolar stop.

It occurs in all the three positions.

dubʌt	'scissors'
dunḏis	'to hang'
dʌkčuŋ	'loans'
dimkžil	'wrestling'
duŋduŋthis	'tap by fist'
žu:ŋdul	'generally'
kʌbʌdi·	'kabaddi'
kʌRod	'crore'
mʌnnud	'bread'

[ḍ] This sound is produced exactly like [ṭ] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This consonant is called the voiced retroflex stop.

It occurs after retroflex consonants.

ɣoṇḍiŋ	'cuckoo'
Riṇḍi·	'bullet' (local made)

diṇḍi:Ro·	'big round body'
gʌṇḍu:Ro·	'gullet'
hʌḷḍu:Ro·	'yellow'
hʌnḍʌŋ	'dumb'
tʌbʌRiṇḍi·	'tamarind'
sguṇḍumRʌŋ	'colour between black and red'

[g] This sound is produced exactly like [k] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This consonant is called the voiced velar stop.

It occurs both initially and medially but not finally.

gip	'tongue'
go:li	'cow'
gulus	'cloth'
gʌmmunʌR	'below'
goyoŋkʰoR	'reeling of head'
vʌgulɛ·	'bank of river'
čʰosgyus	'to swear'
me:ŋga·	'costly'
skRugiṭʰis	'to stir'
miRgo:sibus	'to reject'

[c] To produce this sound the air passage is blocked by raising the centre of the tongue to touch the hard palate. The air behind the closure is compressed by the pressure from the lungs. The contact of the tongue with the hard palate is withdrawn slowly causing friction after the initial explosion as for [c]. The only difference between [č] and [c] is the point of contact

and the part of the tongue involved. The vocal cords do not vibrate. This consonant is called the voiceless palatal affricate.

It occurs both initially and medially but not finally.

či:s	'to enter'
čuRuṭ	'waterfall'
čulbʌgs	'wave'
čʌŋṭʰis	'to chew'
čʌṇḍRa:ližʌq	'Monday'
be:čis	'to send'
lʌqča·	'sword'
añča:R	'pickle'
guna:čʌn	'guilty'
mi:čekipʌs	'potter'

[c] To produce this sound the air passage is blocked by raising the blade of the tongue to touch the teeth-ridge. The air behind the closure is compressed by pressure from the lungs. Since the separation of contact is gradual, when the blade of the tongue is withdrawn slowly from the teeth-ridge and not abruptly as done for the stops described above. The air is squeezed through a narrow opening causing friction after the initial explosion. So this sound may be described as a stop immediately followed by a fricative. The vocal cords do not vibrate. This consonant is called the voiceless alveolar affricate.

It occurs both initially and medially but not finally.

cʌR	'garden'
cʌnbi·	'bat'

cʌqs	'fitter'
ce:ŋgi·	'mosquito'
conḍis	'to injure'
ciʀt̪ʰa:čiʀis	'to arrange (things)'
kuʀcɛ·	'field bed'
belcoŋs	'animal'
ñya:celbišis	'to set a trap'
pʌhʌlcoks	'made'

[ǰ] This sound is produced exactly like (č) except that the vocal cords vibrate producing voicing. This consonant is called the voiced palatal affricate.

It occurs in all the three positions.

ǰʌdu·	'magic'
ǰulus	'procession'
ǰuʀma:na·	'fine'
ǰʌbʌʀa:nt̪ʰis	'to insist'
ha:ǰi·	'pilgrim'
šeǰʀi·	'son-in-law'
u:ñǰuk	'face'
oʀǰʌn	'milk'
t̪ʰʌpʌŋt̪ʰa:ǰ	'altogether'

[f] When producing this sound the lower lip is raised to touch the upper teeth gently so that the air passage is not completely closed. There is a small opening between the lower

lip and the upper teeth. When the air escapes through it there is friction. The vocal cords do not vibrate. This consonant is called the voiceless labiodental fricative.

It occurs medially.

olʌfʀu·	'carrot'
to:f a:n	'storm'
nu:fus	'to arrive'
gofot̪o·	'skull'
ho:ṇḍifʌʀa·	'here and there'
nʌfʀʌt̪t̪ʰis	'to hate'
byʌfʀunʌx̣ʌlis	'to brood (as hen)'

[s] To produce this sound the blade of the tongue is raised towards the alveolar region, but the tongue is not raised high enough to close the air passage completely. The space between the blade of the tongue and alveolar region is extremely narrow. The tongue is contracted sideways and a groove or channel is formed along the middle of the tongue. The air passess through the narrow opening causing friction. The vocal cords do not vibrate. This consonant is called the voiceless alveolar fricative.

It occurs in all the three positions.

sin	'river'
sʌnʌs	'to smear'
sbʌlpa·	'frog'
sʌlit̪ʰis	'to clean'
sʌmʌnḍʌʀ	'ocean'

mʌlsa·	'place'
kisṭi·	'boat'
ʀʌskuṭ	'cotton'
ṣo:sʌʀ	'century'
ṭʌlsiʀ	'ashes'
mos	'meat'
bʀʌs	'rice'
sa:s	'sister'
zuŋs	'pair'
mʌni:liyʌʀis	'to bring bread'

[ṣ] To produce this sound the tip of the tongue curles back and rises towards the hard palate. The space between the hard palate and the tip of the tongue is narrow. There is friction when the air passing through this narrow opening. The vocal cords do not vibrate. This consonant is the voiceless retroflex fricative.

It occurs in all the three positions.

ṣo	'white'
ṣili·	'belt'
ṣkilbu·	'young'
ṣo:be:s	'sixteen'
ṣa:tiʀi:tis	'to dream'
pu:ṣo·	flower'
buṣums	'sickle'
ma:ṣṭʌʀ	'teacher'
mikṣok	'eye-lid'

muṣ	'man'
ʀa:ṣ	'grape'
puŋṣ	'five'
o:ṣ	'air'
sʌṭu:ŋṣ	'seventeen'

[š] To produce [š] the centre of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate but is not raised enough to close the air passage completely. The space between the centre of the tongue and the hard palate is narrow but little wider than for [s]. The vocal cords do not vibrate. This consonant is called the voiceless palatal fricative.

It occurs in all the three positions.

šiš	'head'
šʌḍi·	'monkey'
šilo:ḍi·	'wasp'
ša:ḍis	'to scold'
šiŋše:ʀužʌq	'Saturday'
bu:šis	'chirping of birds'
ne:šik	'wonder'
lišobʌs	'to lean (against something')
punpišʌs	'to guide the way'
tʌkušu	'name of tree'
a:pš	'horse'
neš	'no'
ba:š	'lung'
pʌṇḍe:š	'fifteen'
bʌliš	'sauce'

[x̣] For producing this sound the back of the tongue is raised towards the back velum or uvula but not so high as to block the air passage completely. The passage at the back velar region is narrow and the air passes through it with friction. The vocal cords do not vibrate. This consonant is called the voiceless back velar or uvlar fricative.

It occurs both initially and medially but not finally.

x̣ʌčʌR	'mule'
x̣ʌṣo·	'roasted mutton'
x̣oRma·	'date fruit'
x̣usḍis	'to serve food'
x̣oRx̣uto·	'throat'

[h] For the production of this sound, the glottis is open but the opening is small enough to cause friction. The vocal cords are stiff and do not vibrate. The nasal passage is closed as for the other consonants described above. This consonant is called the voiceless glottal fricative.

It occurs initially and medially.

ha:s	'valley'
hiliŋ	'protest'
hekmʌṯ	'courage'
hʌḷḍu:Ro·	'blue'
hu:nna:ṯʰis	'to keep silent'
hoḍa:skʌlṯʰis	'to offer'
hukumʌṯṯʰis	'to rule'
ḍʌRha:s	'petition'
čʰa:lhʌRis	'vulture'

kʰʌha:ṯʰis	'to plug'
yu:npa:hʌṯ	'left hand'
pʌhʌlcoks	'insane'
huhuŋṯʰis	'to hum'

[v] This sound is produced exactly like [f] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This causes voicing. This consonant is called the voiced labiodental fricative.

It occurs medially.

ḍʌva:ṯ	'ink pot'
duv̥ʌṯ	'scissors'
ǰʌva:b	'answer'

[z] This sound is produced exactly like [s] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This causes voicing. This consonant is called the voiced alveolar fricative.

It occurs in all the three positions.

zuR	'edge'
zʌŋs	'copper'
za:zis	'to walk'
zʌṯibus	'to lessen'
ziRiṯʰis	'to aim at'
u:zu·	'mouth'
neza·	'spear'
kʌmzo:R	'not durable'
a:za:ḍi·	'freedom'
Ra:zis	'to speak'

kami:z	'shirt'

[ž] This sound is produced exactly like [š] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This causes voicing. This consonant is called the voiced palatal fricative

It occurs initially and medially.

žʌq	'day'
ži:go·	'long'
žya:ʀi·	'excellent'
žʌʀba.	'blind'
žuliṭʰispa·	'sweeper'
nʌžis	'to throw away'
ṭi:žis	'to stumble'
pʌžulo·	'shepherd'
ḍa:žis	'to scorch'
hožono·	'then'

[ẓ] This sound is produced exactly like [ṣ] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This causes voicing. This consonant is called retroflex fricative.

It occurs both initially and medially.

ẓuŋ	'mountain'
ẓu:ẓo·	'brother'
ẓuẓa:ẓis	'to blame'
a:ẓo·	'ice'
liẓis	'to shut'
a:ẓo:ys	'to rain'
mintʰa:biẓis	'to trap animal'

[ɣ̣] This sound is produced exactly like [x̣] except that the vocal cords vibrate during its production. This causes voicing. This consonant is called the back velar or uvular fricative.

It occurs both initially and medially.

ɣ̣op	'hollow'
ɣ̣ọṇḍil	'cuckoo'
ɣ̣umčʌnla·	'lazyman'
ɣ̣otʰul	'testicle'
ʀʌɣ̣o·	'hoof'
pʌɣ̣ʌm	'tomato'
peɣ̣ʌmbʌʀ	'prophet'
aɣ̣ʌmes	'healthy'

[m] To produce this sound the oral passage is blocked completely by closing the lips. But the soft palate is lowered letting the air escape through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate. This consonant is called the voiced bilabial nasal.

It occurs in all the three positions.

mu:s	'month'
mʌbža·	'peacock'
mʌʀḍuŋ	'beam'
mušizis	'to meet'
milʌqṭʰis	'to help'
zeʀmo·	'pain'
kʌmču·	'beak'
ba:miʀ	'priest'

d̪ʌmsibus	'gather together'
zʌma:nʌt̪	'bail'
a:ʀa:m	'easy'
kuʀkum	'saffron'
buld̪um	'quiet'
buṣum	'rest'

[n̪] To produce this sound the oral passage is blocked completely by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the teeth-ridge. The soft palate is lowered for the air to pass through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate. This consonant is called the voiced dental nasal.

It occurs medially before dental stops.

lʌn̪d̪is	'to call'
čʌn̪d̪a·	'pocket'
spʀin̪d̪	'cloud'
bʌgʌbʌn̪d̪	'gardener'
sʌmʌn̪d̪ʌʀ	'ocean'
kʌša:n̪d̪ilolis	'piles'
alʌn̪t̪a·	'this much'
hʌn̪t̪a:qʌyk	'as many'

[n] To produce this sound the tip of the tongue is raised to touch the alveolar region and thus the oral passage is blocked completely. But the soft palate is lowered letting air pass through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate. This consonant is called the voiced alveolar nasal.

It occurs in all the three positions.

nis	'to press'
neza	'spear'
ne:ʀi·	'nail'
nelsa·	'bed, sleeping place'
nʌmʀe:l	'aeroplane'
čʰo:nu	'innocent'
kuni:li·	'pigeon'
minid̪is	'to measure'
qu:nočʰis	'prick as thorn'
unismoćʰʌyi·	'key'
ʀun	'lamb'
kʰun	'elbow'
bʌʀbʌn	'window'
pʰʌlčʌn	'wide'
t̪ʌʰkskʌn	'spider'

[ṇ] To produce this sound the tip of the tongue curles backwards and raises to touch the hard palate. The soft palate is lowered and the air comes out through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate. This consonant is called the voiced retroflex nasal.

It occurs medially before or after retroflex consonants.

ʀiṇḍi·	'bullet' (local made)
ɣoṇḍiŋ	'cuckoo'
gʌṇḍu:ʀo·	'gullet'
bʌʀʌṇḍɛ·	'verandah'
ṣkʌṇḍik	'dumb'

diṇḍi:Roṭʰis	'to roll'
ṣṇa:čʰa·	'ear-ring'

[ñ] To produce this sound the oral passage is blocked completely by raising the centre of the tongue towards the hard palate. The soft palate is lowered and the air comes out through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate. This sound is called the palatal nasal.

It occurs initially and medially.

ñi:lo·	'blue'
ñiRma·	'chilly'
ñiRip	'umbrella'
ñyu:tis	'cut with scissors'
ñiližis	'to hide oneself'
ñyʌgzʌR	'ray'
kuñǰa·	'nineteen'
añča:R	'pickle'
kriñǰis	'to decay'
puñǰis	'to satiate'
ldi:ñibus	'to float'

[ŋ] To produce this sound the oral passage is blocked completely by raising the back of the tongue to touch the soft palate. The soft palate is lowered and the air comes out through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate. This consonant is called the voiced velar nasal.

It occurs in all the three positions.

ŋʌRmo·	'sweet'
ŋʌlba:čenla·	'poor' (Buddhists)

iŋbus	'to smile'
zuŋs	'pair'
beŋgʌn	'brinjal'
bʌŋmiya:ṭo·	'midwife'
lʌŋto·	'ox'
ṭʰʌpʌŋbuŋ	'until'
dʌkčuŋ	'beans'
mʌRḍuŋ	'beam'
seRRʌŋ	'golden colour'

[l] To produce this sound the tip of the tongue is placed against alveolar region. Though the middle of the oral passage is closed, the tongue leaves openings on both sides for the air to escape through. The vocal cords vibrate. The consonant is called the voiced alveolar lateral.

It occurs in all the three positions.

ley	'fox'
lu:to·	'monk'
ldʌŋbu·	'ladder'
lumkʰʌn	'singer'
lokčʰʌR	'thunder'
be:ldʌŋ	'night'
sbʌlpa·	'crab'
vʌgulɛ·	'bank of the river'
mʌnni:li·	'bread'
ṭṣa:loṭʰis	'beautify'

[ḷ] To produce this sound, the tip of the tongue curles back and rises to touch the hard palate. Though the middle of

the oral passage is closed the tongue leaves openings on both sides for the air to escape. The vocal cords vibrate. This consonant is called the voiced retroflex lateral.

It occurs in the initial position and in the medial position before a retroflex consonant.

ḷčɛ·	'tongue'
ḷčʌŋma·	'tree'
ḷčʌkskʌʀ	'tin'
muḷṭup	'fist'
guḷṭʌn	'grapes'
bʌḷṭin	'bucket'
hʌḷḍu:ʀo·	'yellow'

[ʀ] To produce this sound the tip of the tongue is held close to the alveolar region loosely so that the tip of the tongue vibrates due to the oncoming air stream from the lungs. The vocal cords vibrate. This consonant is called the voiced alveolar trill.

It occurs initially, medially and finally.

ʀʌŋ	'colour'
ʀʌgi·	'boyonet'
ʀʌpsʌl	'kitchen'
ʀʌskuṭ	'cotton'
ʀilbuñiʀma·	'pepper'
abʀʌq	'mica'
kʰʌʀba·	'bellmetal'
čʰuʀuṭ	'waterfall'

čʰʌʀpa·	'rain'
ǰuʀma:na.	'fine'
kʰoʀ	'relative'
muguʀ	'bowl·
qʌtʌʀ	'knife'
kʌmzo:ʀ	'weak'
sʌmʌṇḍʌʀ	ocean'

[w] To produce this sound the lips are rounded and protruded and the back of the tongue is raised a little towards the soft palate. But the lips are not drawn too close to produce friction. The vocal cords vibrate. This sound is called bilabial semi-vowel.

It occurs in final position after a vowel.

ka:w	'which'
qa:w	'bangle'
žukna:w	'afterwards'

[y] To produce this sound the centre of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. The front of the tongue is also raised a little. The height of the tongue is not high enough to produce friction nor low enough to produce a pure vowel. The vocal cords vibrate. This sound is called the palatal semi-vowel.

It occurs in all the three positions.

yuŋ	'turmeric'
yʌṭo·	'before'
yu:no·	'winter'
yelḍʌq	'branch'

yunpa:h:ʌṭ	'left hand'
a:yɛ·	'mother'
pʌyu·	'salt'
ḍa:ya·	'nurse'
ḍuniyʌṭ	'world'
bʌŋmiya:ṭo·	'midwife'
ley	'fox'
moley	'daughter'
mita:y	'sweet'

There are two more marginal sounds [t̥] and [lʰ] which occur in not more than five words in the Muslim dialect. These four or five words are borrowings from Tibeto-Burman. These sounds are pronounced as [t̥] and [lʰ] respectively in the Buddhist dialect.

[t̥] To produce this sound the tip of the tongue is placed against the alveolar region. Though the middle of the oral passage is closed, the tongue leaves narrow openings on both sides. The air comes through these narrow openings. Since the openings are narrow, they cause friction. This is the difference between this sound and [l]. The vocal cords do not vibrate. This consonant is called the voiceless alveolar lateral fricative.

It occurs only in the initial position.

t̥ṭya·	'tongue'
t̥ṭva:kṭa·	'cholera'
t̥ṭva:kʰol	'star'

[lʰ] This sound is produced exactly like [l] except that a heavy puff of air accompanies the release of the contact in the middle of the alveolar region by the tip of the tongue. This consonant is called the voiceless aspirated alveolar lateral.

It occurs only in the initial position.

lʰa:ŋto·	'ox'
lʰumkʰʌn	'singer'
lʰuŋkʌʀ	'cyclone'
lʰa:ŋpʰo:čɛ·	'elephant'

4. PHONETIC DRILL

The phonetic drills in this section are designed to give practice to the learner in the pronunciation of Brokskat sounds. These drills are given in addition to the list of words given under the description of each sound. Here the sounds which are phonetically close are chosen for intensive practice. The drill may be administered first vertically and then horizontally.

4.1 Vowels :

[i] and [i:]

is̪t̪ifa·	'to resign'	i:d̪is	'to allow'
biʀis	'to boil'	bi:us	'to sow'
sis	'to sew'	si:s	'to attack'
ñiʀma·	'chilly'	ñi:lo·	'blue'
kit̪a:p	'book'	ki:t	'trousers'

[e] and [e:]

bet̪o·	'calf'	be:t̪o·	'if possible'
benɛ·	'out'	be:d̪ɛ·	'many'
hekmet̪	'courage'	he:kpo·	'although'

kemet̪	'lean'	ke:kpo·	'how'
nešik	'wonder'	ne:šu	'except'

[u] and [u:]

bun	'village'	bu:nis	'to fold arms'
d̪ud̪o·	'grandfather'	d̪u:siʀo·	'double fold'
guli·	'finger'	gu:lu·	'mast'
muli·	'radish'	mu:lo·	'turnip'
nufus	'to arrive'	nu:bi·	'to sink'
t̪ubʌq	'gun'	t̪u:ʀi·	'star'
t̪ʰuʀu·	'colt'	t̪ʰu:ʀo·	'skin'

[o] and [o:]

qom	'religion'	qo:n	'hearing'
čoʀ	'four'	o:ɣa·	'fullmoon day'
čʰolo·	'dice'	čʰo:lʌɣ̣ʌŋ	'power'
mozi·	'sulphur'	mo:s	'flesh'
ṣono·	'butter'	ṣo:be:s	'sixteen'
t̪ot̪a·	'parrot'	t̪o:p	'cannon'

[a] and [a:]

alʌn̪t̪a·	'this much'	a:lɛ·	'near'
abʀʌq	'mica'	a:bezʌmzʌm	'holy water'
aẓu·	'in'	a:ẓo·	'ice'
ạmšil	'forget'	a:m	'mango'

[ʌ] and [a:]

bʌʀo·	'husband'	ba:ʀi·	'lake'
qʌla·	'hand'	qa:l	'cheek'
ṭʌsbi·	'rosary'	ṭa:sʌʀʌŋ	'noon'
nʌʀǰʌn	'wheat'	na:ʀo·	'stone'
alʌṇṭik	'so much'	ala:či·	'cardamom'

[i] and [e]

sina·	'child'	seno·	'small'
sin	'river'	seʀ	'gold'
nis	'to press'	neš	'not'
č^{h}iʀis	'to live'	č^{h}eʀṭʌks	'hedge'
kiʀzɛ·	'pulse'	keʀɛ·	'when'
p^{h}itis	'to split'	penɛ·	'pice'

[e] and [ɛ·]

beṭo·	'but'	be:nɛ·	'out'
kʌmeṭ	'lean'	kiʀzɛ·	'pulse'
belcoŋs	'animal'	be:ḍɛ·	'much'

[u] and [o]

guna:čʌn	'guilty'	gonpa·	'temple'
č^{h}utu·	'dirty'	č^{h}olo·	'dice'
čuʀuṭ	'waterfall'	ĉoʀ	'four'
kuʀkum	'saffron'	ḷ:oʀpoʀ	'in the cave'
luŋk^{h}oʀ	'cyclone'	lok^{h}oʀ	'year'

buṣums	'sickle'	boḍužʌq	'Wednesday'
ḍubušu	'forty'	ḍoqmo·	'narrow'
hukumʌṭ	'government'	hoṣono·	'again'
kupa:s	'cotton'	koñǰok	'God'

4.2 Consonants :

[p] and [p^h]

pi:s	'to drink'	p^{h}itis	'to split'
polo·	'ball'	p^{h}ola:ṭ	'steel'
pʌqbɪɪ·	'brick'	p^{h}ʌqṣok	'secret'
pʌlki·	'palanquin'	p^{h}ʌlčʌn	'narrow'
pun	'path'	p^{h}ulgo:bi·	'cauliflower'
pu:ṣoč^{h}inis	'to spin'	p^{h}u:nis	'to dress'
pʌtti·	'bandage'	p^{h}ʌtoʀo·	'coarse'
pa:čis	'to bear'	p^{h}a:qṭ^{h}is	'to hide'
pišʌs	'to show'	p^{h}iṭoq	'evening'
pu:ṣo·	'flower'	p^{h}u:fuš	'oven'

[ṭ] and [ṭ^h]

ṭi·	'you'	ṭ^{h}is	'to do'
ṭu:ʀi·	'star'	ṭ^{h}u:ʀo·	'skin'
ṭa:shʌʀʌŋ	'noon'	ṭ^{h}a:ski·	'to move'
ṭʌkʌbuʀ	'pride'	ṭ^{h}ʌkskʌn	'spider'
ṭa:ṭo·	'heat'	ṭ^{h}a:na·	'police station'
ṭʌʀik	'case'	ṭ^{h}ʌʀʌys	'to persuade'
ṭubʌq	'gun'	ṭ^{h}uʀu·	'colt'
gyoṭibus	'to regret'	goṭ^{h}a:ʀi·	'ring'

[ṭ] and [ṭʰ]

ṭi·	'bell'	ṭʰiṭ	'sneeze'
ṭʌŋkʰuŋ	'bow'	ṭʰʌptʰup	'dark'
ṭu:sṭu:s	'to shake'	ṭʰul	'egg'

[k] and [kʰ]

kʌʀi·	'jug'	kʰʌʀo·	'blacksmith'
kʌča·	'trousers'	kʰʌču·	'saliva'
koñǰok	'God'	kʰʌñčis	'to lock up'
kuni:li·	pigeon'	kʰunu·	'nose'
kʌʀo:ti·	'basket'	kʰʌʀba·	'bellmetal'
kʌlʌm	'pen'	kʰʌzʌs	'fruit'
kuṭṭi·	'foot'	kʰuṭ	'short'
kʌbuṭumʌʀ	'gem'	kʰʌbu·	'bud'
kučuʀ	'bolt'	kʰun	'elbow'
ḍʌkʰʌŋ	'quiver'	ḍʌkčuŋ	'beans'
kʌnkʌn	'leg'	lumkʰʌn	'singer'

[č] and [čʰ]

čʌʀi·	'bedbug'	čʰʌʀbu·	'button'
čuʀku·	'lie'	čʰuʀuṭ	'waterfall'
čomo·	'nun'	čʰolo·	'dice'
čʌṇḍa·	'pocket'	čʰʌʀpa·	'rain'
čʌču·	'bird'	čʰʌṭ	'enough'
čʌkṭʰuʀ	'chain'	čʰʌksa·	'lavatory'
čoʀ	'four'	čʰonu·	'innocent'
čoṣ	'floor'	čʰos	'religion'

[p] and [b]

pi:s	'to drink'	bi:us	'to sow seed'
pʌʀi·	'there'	bʌʀo·	'husband'
pʌqbu·	'brick'	bʌqmo·	'bride'
pun	'path'	bun	'village'
polo·	'ball'	bolbol	'peace'
pʌʀipa:ʀ	'across'	bʌʀbʌn	'window'
čʰʌʀpa·	'rain'	čʰʌʀbu·	'button'
kʰʌpi·	'spoon'	kʰʌbu·	'bud'
gyokspa·	'soon'	kʰʌʀba·	'bellmetal'
ǰula:p	'dysentry'	ǰʌva:b	'answer'

[ṭ] and [ḍ]

ṭu·	'you'	ḍu·	'two'
ṭa:s	'gambling'	ḍa:š	'ten'
ṭʌbis	'sacred thread'	ḍʌbṭʌʀ	'office'
ṭʌqa:ḍva:ʀ	'strong'	ḍʌʀzi:pa·	'tailor'
beṭo·	'calf'	be:ḍɛ·	'many'
žʌlṭa·	'argument'	šolḍa·	'the bar in the plough'
zʌma:nʌṭ	'bail'	imḍa:ḍ	'care'
kemeṭ	'loan'	čʌmʌnḍ	'cheese'

[t] and [d]

tito·	'sour'	doko.	'hip'
tʌnis	'to destroy'	dʌni·	'tooth'
ta:ku·	'bat (hockey)'	da:k	'mail'

tenik	'waiting'	dimkžǐl	'wrestling'
tʌŋk^{h}uŋ	'bow'	dʌkčuŋ	'beans'
tʌkʌʀi·	'balance'	dʌmʌn	'drum'
tu:stu:s	'to shake'	dun	'handle of axe'
tiŋ	'bell'	diṇḍi:ʀo·	'round body'

[k] and [g]

ko·	'who'	go·	'fat'
kulli·	'labourer'	guli·	'finger'
koñǰok	'God'	gonpa·	'temple'
kʌla·	'arm'	gʌlʌṭ	'wrong'
kʌmbʌl	'blanket'	ga:mbu·	'pea'
kʌmču·	'beak'	gʌmmunʌʀ	'under'
mʌka·	'maize'	muguʀ	'bowl'
ṣʌkbus	'to get doubt'	lʌgʌʀḍa:k^{h}ʌ ʀḍa:ṭ^{h}is	'to give signal'
ṭʌkʌbuʀ	'pride'	ṭa:gipʌs	'to fold'
žikspišʌs	'to threaten'	žigʀo·	'cowardice'

[č] and [ǰ]

čʌʀi·	'bed-bug'	ǰuʀma:na·	'fine'
čʌṇḍa·	'pocket'	ǰʌṇḍa·	'flag'
čʌču·	'bird'	ǰʌbǰʌb	'humble'
čʌŋgu·	'rheumatism'	ǰʌŋgʌl	'forest'
čʌkṭ^{h}uʀ	'chain'	ǰʌḍu·	'magic'
čumik	'stream'	ǰula:p	'dysentry'
čuʀku:to·	'lier'	ǰulu:s	'procession'
añča:ʀ	'pickle'	koñǰok	'God'

[č] and [c]

či:s	'to enter'	ci·	'you (pl.)'
čʌʀi·	'bed bug'	cʌʀ	'garden'
čʌṇḍa·	'pocket'	cʌnbyu·	'bat (bird)'
če:y	'bird'	ce:ŋgi·	'mosquito'
čoʀ	'four'	coŋ	'onion'
čoʀnʌẋʌlis	'to steal'	condis	'to injure'
čosk^{h}on	'prejudice'	coqsla·	'resembling'
čiŋa:ʀuk^{h}o·	'helmet'	cirṭ^{h}a:čiʀis	'to arrange'
be:čis	'to send'	belcoŋs	'animal'

[f] and [v]

ṭo:fa:n	'storm'	ḍa:vʌṭ	'ink pot'
nʌfʀʌṭṭ^{h}is	'to hate'	ǰʌva:bṭ^{h}is	'to answer'

[s] and [z]

sa:s	'younger sister'	za:zis	'to walk'
sʌʀʌŋ	'brown colour'	zuŋs	'pair'
seʀgʌʀ	'goldsmith'	zeʀmo·	'pain'
sʌmʌṇḍʌʀ	'ocean'	zʌma:nʌṭ	'bail'
suʀi·	'sun'	zuʀ	'edge'
skʌʀma·	'star'	zgʀom	'box'
sosbu:unis	'adopt a child'	zofʀu·	'he-calf'
sposkʌʀ	'incense'	zbya:lza·	'season'
asi:bun	'native land'	a:za:ḍi·	'freedom'
mʌsa:la·	'spice'	mo:zi·	'sulphur'

[ṣ] and [ẓ]

ṣugu·	'paper'	ẓu:ẓo·	'brother'
ṣu:ŋRus	'to spin'	ẓu:ẓa:ẓis	'to blame'
a:ṣo·	'tear'	a:ẓo·	'ice'
hʌṣo·	'roasted mutton'	qa:ẓis	'to rub'
buṣums	'sickle'	aẓu·	'in'

[š] and [ž]

šiš	'head'	žini·	'wish'
šus	'to swell'	žus	'to know'
šuko·	'dry'	žu:ŋdul	'generally'
šʌkṭʰʌŋ	'pebble'	žʌqṭʌŋ	'daily'
šeǰRi·	'sister's husband'	žʌRba·	'blind'
šya:ŋku·	'wolf'	žya:koR	'hair'
šya:Ro·	'deer'	žya:Ro·	'old'
bu:šis	'to chirpas bird'	ḍa:žis	'to scorch'

[h] and [ɣ]

hobeṭo·	'still'	ɣop	'hollow'
ho:mo·	'this'	ɣono·	'barely'
ho:mo:ži·	'here'	ɣumčʌnla·	'lazy'
ho:ṇḍifʌRa·	'from here'	ɣoṇḍil	'cuckoo'

[ṭ] and [t]

ṭi:l	'oil'	ti·	'bell'
ṭen	'their'	tenik	'wait'

ṭi:Ra·	'for you (fem)'	tito·	'sour'
ṭʌRik	'case'	tʌRʌs	'to cool'
ṭa:ṭo·	'heat'	ta:ku·	'bat (hockey)'
ṭubʌq	'gun'	tuŋgʌRa·	'ginger'
ṭʌgma·	'medal'	tʌktumbu·	'rheumatism'
ṭʌkʌbuR	'pride'	tʌkʌRi·	'balance'
gyoṭibus	'to regret'	gutiṇḍʌbya:s	'go home'
nu:ṭo·	'nose'	nu:to·	'walking'

[ḍ] and [d]

ḍa:R	'door'	da:k	'mail'
ḍa:vʌṭ	'inkpot'	duaṭ	'scissors'
ḍoqmo·	'narrow'	doko·	'waist'
ḍʌya·	'mercy'	dʌni·	'tooth'
ḍʌhon	'brooch'	dʌmʌn	'band'
ḍunyʌṭ	'world'	dunḍis	'to hang'
ḍʌmsibus	'to gather'	dimkžil	'wrestling'

[ṭ] [č] and [c]

ṭi·	'you'	čiːs	'to enter'	ci·	'you (pl.)'
ṭiːʀa·	'for you'	čoʀok	'suspicion'	ciʀṭʰaːčiʀis	'to arrange'
ṭʌʀik	'case'	čʌʀi·	'bed–bug'	cʌʀ	'garden'
ṭʌnmo·	'amusement'	čʌṇḍa·	'pocket'	cʌnbi·	'bat (bird)'
ṭeːṇḍa·	'to them'	čeːy	'bird'	ceːŋbus	'to jerk'
ṭʌgma·	'medal'	čʌkṭʰuʀ	'chain'	cogsla·	'resemblance'
ṭeːṇḍi	'their'	čiŋaːʀ	'iron'	ceːŋgi·	'mosquito'
ṭʌmpaːku·	'tobacco'	čʌŋgu·	'rhehumatism'	coŋ	'onion'

[k] and [q]

ku·	'wall'	qu·	'cow'
kaːv	'which'	qaːv	'bangle'
kaːǰu·	'cashewnut'	qaːl	'cheek'
kʌlon	'minister'	qʌla·	'hand'
kʌʀi·	'jug'	qʌṭʌʀ	'knife'
bʌkšʌṭ	'she-calf'	qʌgmu·	'bride'
lokbus	'fall down'	lʌqṣups	'gloves'
ṭʌkʌbuʀ	'pride'	ṭʌqaːḍvaːʀ	'durable'
ṣṭʌks	'target'	ṭʌqčaːhʌli·	'necklace'

[q] and [g]

qu·	'crow	go·	'coarse'
qʌṭʌʀ	'knife'	gʌdi·	'clock'
qaːnun	'law'	gʌŋbu·	'pea'
qoṇṭʰis	'hearing'	gonpa·	'temple'
qʌla·	'hand'	gʌlʌṭ	'wrong'
quːto·	'knee'	guːtu·	'battle axe'
quːno·	'thorn'	guːʀi·	'mirror'
qoto·	'wood'	goːli·	'cow'
ṭvʌqlɛ·	'pan'	ṭʌgma·	'medal'
ṭvaːqṭa·	'cholera'	ṭaːgipʌs	'to fold'

[kʰ] and [h]

kʰʌlep	'lid'	hʌlʌsṭʰis	'to tempt'
kʰʌʀo·	'blacksmith'	hʌʀʌŋ	'centre'

kʰʌtis	'to bury'	hʌti:pa·	'shopkeeper'
kʰʌzʌs	'fruit'	hʌsʌṭbus	'to give respect'
kʰe:nibus	'to predict'	he:kpo·	'although'
kʰilibus	'to stop'	hiliŋ	'protection'
kʰoks	'cough'	hoš̌ya:R	'smart'
ḍʌkʰʌŋ	'quiver'	ḍʌhon	'brooch'
bu:kʰi·	'against'.	pʌhʌlcoks	'mad'
lumkʰʌn	'singer'	ahon	'preceptor'

[x̣] and [ɣ̣]

x̣oRma·	'date fruit'	ɣ̣onḍil	'cuckoo'
x̣uR	'fire'	ɣ̣op	'hollow'
x̣otʰul	'testicle'	ɣ̣ono·	'barely'
x̣usḍis	'to serve food'	ɣ̣umčʌnla·	'lazy'
x̣a:ys	'to annoy'	ɣ̣ʌṭiṭʰis	'to offend'

[s] and [ ]

so·	'he	ṣo·	'white'
sʌku·	'muddy water'	ṣʌk	'doubt'
sʌRʌŋ	'brown colour'	ṣʌRa:p	'liquor'
snʌs	'thread'	ṣna:čʰa·	'ear-ring'
siŋgɛ·	'lion'	ṣiŋkʰʌn	'artist'
suba·	'province'	ṣugu·	'paper'
buskya:ṭʰis	'to cover'	buṣumḍis	'to rest'
asi:bun	'native land'	aṣṭu:ŋs	'eighteen'

ǰʌs	'judge'	ǰo:ṣ	'spirit'
bRVs	'rice'	buRuṣ	'brush'

[ṣ] and [š]

ṣiŋ	'horn'	šiš	'head'
ṣili·	'belt'	šiloḍi·	'wasp'
ṣugu·	'paper'	šuko·	'dry'
ṣʌkbus	'to get doubt'	šʌkṭʰʌŋ	'pebble'
ṣʌlyʌks	'good'	ša:lṭa·	'roof'
ṣmi:ṭiṭʰis	'to swallow'	šmulibus	'to get sweating'
ṣkya:li·	'to swim'	šya:Ro	'deer'
ṣna:čʰa·	'ear-ring'	šnumi·	'to smell'
buṣumḍis	'to take rest'	bu:šis	'to chirp'
muṣpʰʌṭiRis	'to translate'	muša:Ris	'to mix'

[s] and [š]

sa·	'soil'	ša:ḍis	'to scold'
sʌḍiR	'president'	šʌḍi·	'monkey'
suRi·	'sun'	šuRuṭʰis	'to start'
sʌsṭa·	'cheap'	šʌsna·	'thigh'
seRgʌR	'goldsmith'	šeǰRi·	'sister's husband'
sesmuk	'selfishness'	šeṭa:n	'devil'
smʌnma·	'demon'	šmulču·	'mercury'
buskya:ṭʰis	'to cover'	pušilla·	'bloom'
nis	'to press'	neš	'not'
bʌs	'sit'	ba:š	'lung'

[s] [ṣ] and [š]

so	'he'	ṣo	'white'	šu·	'vegetable'
suʀi·	'sun'	ṣugu·	'paper'	šuʀuṭʰis	'to start'
sa:bon	'soap'	ṣa:bus	'to like'	ša:lṭa·	'roof'
sṭoṭ	'shoulder'	ṣpon	'sculptor'	šṭun	'mortar'

[z] and [ẓ]

za:zʌl	'flowing'	ẓa	'younger brother'
zuŋs	'pair'	ẓuẓa:ẓis	'to blame'
a:za:ḍi·	'freedom'	aẓu·	'in'
ʀa:zis	'to speak'	a:ẓo·	'ice'

[ẓ] and [ž]

ẓa·	'younger brother'	žʌʀba·	'blind'
ẓʌṣ	'advice'	žʌq	'day'
ẓuẓa:ẓis	'to blame'	žuliṭʰis	'to sweep'
a:ẓo·	'ice'	ḍa:žis	'to scorch'
aẓu·	'in'	pʌžulo·	'shephered'

[z] [ẓ] and [ž]

za:zʌl	'flowing'	ẓa·	'younger brother'	žʌʀba·	'blind'
ziṭibus	'to decrease'	ẓʌṣ	'advice'	žʌt	'goat's hair'
zuŋs	'pair'	ẓuẓa:ẓis	'to blame'	žu:ŋdul	'generally'
a:za:ḍi·	'freedom'	a:ẓo·	'ice'	ḍa:žis	'to scorch'
ʀa:zis	'to speak'	aẓu·	'in'	qa:žis	'to rule'

[n̪] and [n]

čʌn̪da·	'pocket'	cʌnbi·	'bat'
gRon̪dis	'to invite'	kʌni·	'ear'
dun̪dis	'to hang'	d̪unyʌt̪	'world'
qun̪t̪ʰis	'to obey'	qu:nočʰis	'to prick as thorn'
hʌn̪t̪a:ɣʌyk	'as many'	guna:čʌn	'guilty'
ima:n̪da:ʀ	'honest'	zʌma:nʌt̪	'bail'
lʌn̪dis	'to call'	ʀʌnis	'to brew'
čʌn̪dRa:lžʌq	'Monday'	čʰʌnis	'to pick'

[n] [ñ] and [ŋ]

nis	'to press'	ñiʀma·	'chilly'	ŋʌʀmo·	'sweet'
kʌni·	'ear'	kuñǰa·	'nineteen'	kʌŋku·	'claw'
punpišʌs	'to guide'	puñǰis	'to satiate'	puŋṣ	'five'
anipʰʌRbya:s	'go around'	añča:ʀ	'pickle'	aŋga:Ružʌq	'Tuesday'

[l] and [ḷ]

ld̪ʌŋbu·	'ladder'	ḷčʌŋma·	'tree'
ld̪i:ñibus	'to float'	ḷčʌkskʌʀ	'tin'
bʌliš	'sauce'	bʌḷt̪in	'bucket'
guli·	'finger'	guḷt̪ʌn	'grapes'
hʌlʌst̪ʰis	'to tempt'	hʌḷd̪u:ʀo·	'yellow'

[l] and [ʀ]

luŋ	'air'	Ruŋ	'hill'
liš	'unite'	Rigo·	'cliff'
lʌŋto·	'ox'	ʀʌŋ	'colour'
lʌn̪di·	'voice'	ʀʌRgi·	'sword'
ld̪ʌd̪pa·	'brain'	ʀgunma·	'mare'
lun̪d̪ʀʌk	'storm'	ʀgunza·	'season'
gu:lu·	'mast'	gu:ʀi·	'mirror'
bʌlʌŋ	'bull'	bʌʀbʌn	'window'
sil	'shade'	seʀ	'gold'
sʌmd̪ʌl	'moustache'	sʌmʌn̪d̪ʌʀ	'ocean'

5. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

All the sounds that occur in a language are not functional. Some of them occur in predictable environments. Some others occur in identical environments and the choice of some or the other sound changes the meaning of the words. These sounds are contrasting sounds or phonemes and the set of these phonemes will be the functional sounds of a language. The phonemes of Brokskàt are :

	Front	*Central*	*Back*
High	i		u
Higher mid	e		o
Low		a	

: (length)

The contrasts between phonetically similar sounds are given below to set up the phonemes of Brokskat.

/i/ /i:/

/ḍis/	'to give'
/ḍi:s/	'a kind of storing place within the wall'
/žigRo:/	'coward'
/ži:go:/	'long'

/e/ /e:/

/beṭo/	'calf'
/be:ṭo/	'if possible'
/hekmaṭ/	'courage'
/he:kpo/	'although'
/nešik/	'wonder'
/ne:šu/	'except'

/u/ /u:/

/ḍuṭ/	'milk'
/ḍu:R/	'distance'
/bulun/	'loan'
/bu:lo/	'lid'

/o/ /o:/

/ṭoṭa:/	'parrot'
/ṭo:ba/	'recover'
/ṭomočok/	'empire'
/ṭo:mo/	'same'

/a/ /a:/

/aẓu/	'in'
/a:ẓo/	'ice'
/ala:či/	'cardamom'
/a:le/	'near'

/$\check{c}^h$aʀbu/	'button'
/$\check{c}^h$a:ʀpa/	'cot'

/i/ /e/

/sina/	'child'
/seno/	'small'
/sin/	'river'
/seʀ/	'gold'

/u/ /o/

/muli/	'radish'
/moley/	'daughter'
/čuksa/	'urban'
/čok/	'all'

5.2 CONSONANTS :

/p/ /p^h/

/po/	'part'
/p^ho/	'he'
/palki/	'palanquin'
/p^halčan/	'wide'
/polo/	'ball'
/p^hola:ṭ/	'steel'

5.2 CONSONANTS :

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Back velar	Glottal
Stops :	Voiceless	p	ṭ	t			k	q	
	Voiceless Aspirated	p^h	$ṭ^h$	t^h			k^h		
	Voiced	b	ḍ	d			g		
Africate	Voiceless			c		č			
	Voiceless Aspirated					$\check{c}^h$			
	Voiced					ǰ			
	Voiceless	ʃ		s	ṣ	š		x̣	h
Voiced	Fricative	v		z	ẓ	ž		ɣ̣	
Nasal		m		n			ŋ		
Lateral				l					
Trill				ʀ					
Semivowel						y			

/t̪/ /t̪ʰ/

/t̪u:Ri/	'star'
/t̪ʰu:Ro/	'skin'
/t̪i/	'you'
/t̪ʰis/	'to do'
/t̪alsiR/	'ashes'
/t̪ʰali/	'plate'

/t/ /tʰ/

/tus/	'to shake'
/tʰul/	'egg'
/takaRi/	'balance'
/tʰakuR/	'barber'

/k/ /kʰ/

/kaRi/	'jug'
/kʰaRo/	'blacksmith'
/kača/	'trousers'
/kʰaču/	'saliva'
/doko/	'hip'
/ḍokʰa:ḍis/	'to deceive'

/č/ /čʰ/

/čaRi/	'bed bug'
/čʰaRbu/	'button'

/čuRku/	'lie'
/čʰuRut̪/	'waterfalls'

/p/ /b/

/paRi/	'there'
/baRo/	'husband'
/kʰapi/	'spoon'
/kʰabu/	'bud'
/ǰula:p/	'dysentry'
/ǰava:b/	'answer'

/t̪/ /d̪/

/t̪u/	'you'
/d̪u/	'two'
/t̪a:s/	'gambling'
/d̪a:s/	'ten'
/žalt̪a/	'argument'
/šold̪a/	'bar in the plough'

/t/ /d/

/tanis/	'to destroy'
/dani/	'tooth'
/ta:ku/	'hockey bat'
/da:k/	'mail'

/k/ /g/

/ko:lo/	'limp'
/go:li/	'cow'
/kalon/	'minister'
/galaṭ/	'wrong'
/šuko/	'dried'
/ṣugu/	'paper'

/k/ /q/

/ku/	'wall'
/qu/	'crow'
/ka:v/	'which'
/qa:v/	'bangle'

/č/ /ǰ/

/čaŋgu/	'cripple'
/ǰaŋgal/	'forest'
/čuʀku/	'lie'
/ǰuʀma:na/	'fine'

/č/ /c/

/čok/	'all'
/cok/	'forest'
/čaʀi/	'bedbug'
/caʀ/	'garden'

/f/ /v/

/fesla/	'judgement'
/vazi:ʀ/	'minister'
/ṭo:fa:n/	'storm'
/ḍa:vaṭ/	'ink-pot'

/s/ /z/

/si:ʀi/	'sand'
/zi:ʀa/	'cumin seed'
/seʀgaʀ/	'goldsmith'
/zeʀmo/	'pain'

/ṣ/ /ẓ/

/a:ṣo/	'tear'
/a:ẓo/	'ice'
/ṣupṣup/	'whisper'
/ẓu:ẓo/	'brother'

/š/ /ž/

/šus/	'swelling'
/žus/	'knowing'
/šakṭʰaŋ/	'pebble'
/žaqṭaŋ/	'daily'
/bu:šis/	'chirping of birds'
/ḍa:žis/	'to scorch'

/h/ /ɣ̣/

/handaŋ/	'dumb'
/ɣ̣ondil/	'cuckoo'
/homo/	'this'
/ɣ̣ono/	'barley'

/h/ /x̣/

/haʀaŋ/	'centre'
/x̣aʀ/	'ass'
/hoʀ/	'of'
/x̣oʀma/	'date fruit'

/m/ /n/ /ŋ/

/mi:s/	'us'
/ni:s/	'to strain'
/ŋi:s/	'thirst'
/mu:mo/	'uncle'
/nu:no/	'naked'
/ŋu:ŋskaʀ/	'mustard'
/kamču/	'beak'
/kankan/	'leg'
/kaŋku/	'claw'

/l/ /ʀ/

/lun/	'bunch'
/ʀun/	'lamb'

/gu:lu/	'mast'
/gu:ʀi/	'mirror'

Allophonic Distribution

Vowels

/i/ [i] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[isu·]	'to come'
[šiš]	'head'

/i:/ [i·] occurs in the final position.

[aboni·]	'near'
[mani:li·]	'bread'

[i:] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[i:dis]	'to allow'
[asi:ʀa·]	'to us'
[kuni:li·]	'pigeon'

/e/ [e] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[eʀi:ʀʌʀa:zis]	'to flatter'
[seno·]	'small'

/e:/ [ɛ·] occurs in the final position.

[a:pɛ·]	'little'
[kiʀzɛ]	'pulse'

[e:] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[e:kik] 'alone'
[še:ṭmʌṭ] 'weak'

/u/ [u] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[upis] 'to fly'
[bun] 'village'

/u:/ [u·] occurs in the final position.

[kʰʌbu·] 'bud'
[škilbu·] 'young'

[u:] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[u:zi·] 'mouth'
[su:ʀi·] 'sun'

/o/ [o] occurs in the medial position.

[koʀ] 'cave'
[sgogpa·] 'garlic'

/o:/ [o·] occurs in the final position.

[beṭo] 'calf'
[noʀo·] 'good'

[o:] occurs in the medial position.

[mo:s] 'flesh'
[so:libus] 'to disperse'

/a/ [ʌ] occurs in the medial position.

[bʌhis] 'to plough'
[nʌkṣa·] 'picture'

[a] occurs in the initial position.

[aḍiṭužʌq] 'Sunday'
[amšis] 'to forget'

/a:/ [a·] occurs in the final position.

[čʌṇḍa·] 'pocket'
[bʌmba·] 'ghee lamp'

[a:] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[a:zo·] 'ice'
[ḍa:ʀ] 'door'

Cᴏɴsᴏɴᴀɴᴛs :

/p/ [p] occurs in all the three positions, viz., initial, medial and final.

[pʌlki·] 'palanquin'
[kʰʌpi·] 'spoon'
[ǰula:p] 'dysentry'

/ṭ/ [ṭ] occurs in all the three positions, viz., initial, medial and final.

[ṭʌkʌbuʀ] 'pride'

[šeṭa:n] 'devil'
[pʰola:ṭ] 'steel'

/t/ [t] occurs in all the three positions.

[ti·] 'bell'
[ču:to·] 'deaf'
[ki:t] 'trousers'

[ṭ] occurs in the medial position.

[guḷṭʌn] 'grape'
[ma:ṣṭʌʀ] ,teacher,

/k/ [k] occurs in all the three positions.

[kisṭi·] 'boat'
[čukʌʀ] 'pot'
[ke:k] 'some'

/q/ [q] occurs in all the three positions.

[qa:w] 'bangle'
[ḍoqmo·] 'narrow'
[milʌq] 'help'

/pʰ/ [pʰ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[pʰʌlčʌn] 'wide'
[čʰʌkpʰul] 'prayer'

/ṭʰ/ [ṭʰ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[ṭʰis] 'to do'
[goṭʰa:ʀi] 'ring'

/tʰ/ [tʰ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[tʰul] 'egg'
[tʰʌptʰup] 'dark'
[atʰi·] 'eye'

/čʰ/ [čʰ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[čʰʌʀbu·] 'button'
[lokčʰʌʀ] 'thunder'

/kʰ/ [kʰ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[kʰʌzʌs] 'fruit'
[lukʰoʀ] 'cyclone'

/b/ [b] occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

[baŋḍis] 'to run'
[gʌŋbu·] 'pea'
[ǰʌva:b] 'answer'

/ḍ/ [ḍ] occurs in all the three positions, viz., initial, medial and final.

[ḍʌmsibus] 'to gather'
[šolḍa·] / 'bar in the plough'
[imḍa:ḍ] 'care'

/d/ [d] occurs in all the three positions.

[kʌbʌdi·]	'kabaddi'
[mʌnnud]	'bread'

[ḍ] occurs in the medial position.

[hʌḷḍu:ʀo·]	'yellow'
[hʌṇḍʌŋ]	'dumb'
[ʀiṇḍi·]	'bullet'

/g/ [g] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[gonpa·]	'temple'
[muguʀ]	'bowl'

/c/ [c] occurs in the initial position.

[co·]	'onion'
[ce:ŋgi·]	'mosquito'

/č/ [č] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[čumik]	'stream'
[va:čis]	'bathe'

/ǰ/ [ǰ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[ǰuʀma:na·]	'fine'
[konǰok]	'God'

/f/ [f] occurs in the medial position.

[nufus]	'to reach'
[ṭo:fa:n]	'storm'

/s/ [s] occurs in all the three positions, viz., initial, medial and final.

[sʌmḍʌl]	'moustache'
[ʀʌskuṭ]	'cotton'
[kʌñčis]	'to tie'

/ṣ/ [ṣ] occurs in all the three positions.

[ṣugu·]	'paper'
[pu:ṣo·]	'flower'
[mu:ṣ]	'language'

/š/ [š] occurs in all the three positions.

[šiš]	'head'
[biša·]	'twenty'
[a:š]	'today'

/x/ [x] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[xuʀ]	'fire'
[xoʀxu:to·]	'throat'

/h/ [h] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[hombu·]	'deep'
[ahon]	'preceptor'

/v/ [w] occurs in the final position after a vowel.

[ka:w]	'which'
[žukna:w]	afterwards

[v] occurs elsewhere.

[vʌgulɛ·]	'river bank'
[ḍʌva:ṭ]	'ink-pot'

/z/ [z] occurs in all the three positions.

[zʌŋmo·]	'good omen'
[za:zis]	'to walk'
[kʌmi:z]	'shirt'

/ẓ/ [ẓ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[ẓu:ẓo·]	'brother'
[a:ẓo·]	'ice'

/ž/ [ž] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[žʌlṭa·]	'argument'
[pʌžulo·]	'shepherd'

/ɣ/ [ɣ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[ɣop]	'hollow'
[čoɣa·]	'full moon'

/m/ [m] occurs in all the three positions.

[mʌbža·]	'peacock'

[ba:miʀ]	'priest'
[kʀum]	'work'

/n/ [n̪] occurs medially with dental consonant.

[gʀon̪dis]	'to invite'
[alʌn̪ta·]	'this much'

[ṇ] occurs medially with retroflex consonant.

[gʌṇḍu:ʀo·]	'gullet'
[hʌṇḍʌŋ]	'dumb'

[n] occurs in all the three positions.

[nʌmʀe:l]	'aeroplane'
[čʰʌnis]	'to pick'
[byʌlun]	'crane'

/ŋ/ [ñ] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[ñyʌgzeʀ]	'ray'
[kʀiñǰis]	'to decay'

[ŋ] occurs in all the three positions

[ŋʌʀmo·]	'sweet'
[luŋkʰoʀ]	'cyclone'
[ṭʰʌpʌŋ]	'now'

/l/ [l̥] occurs in the initial and medial positions

[l̥čʌɟma·]	'tree'
[hʌl̥du:ʀo·]	'yellow'

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[l] occurs in all the three positions.

[luŋmen]	'river'
[dilis]	'to peel'
[ʀʌpsʌl]	'kitchen'

/ʀ/ [ʀ] occurs in all the three positions.

[ʀa:zis]	'to say'
[bu:mbʌʀik]	'blessing'
[ṭuksur]	'name of a seed'

/y/ [y] occurs in the initial and medial positions.

[yuŋ]	'turmeric'
[a:yɛ·]	'mother'

6. GRAPHEMIC REPRESENTATION

The Brokskat language does not have a script of its own. No other script has yet been used to write this language. Devanāgarī script with some modifications is suggested here for writing Brokskat since it belongs to the Indo-Aryan family and its sounds can be represented easily with Devanagari script. From the technological point of view, it is easier to type and print in the Devanāgarī script. Learning this script will enable the Brokskat speakers who already speak Urdu to read and write Hindi without extra effort. Though for these practical reasons the Devanāgarī script is suggested correspondence of the Brokskat phonemes with the Persian script is also given.

The script is based on the phonemic system of Brokskat and the modifications follow the conventions established.

The following are the vowels and consonants of the Brokskat language and their corresponding Devanagari symbols.

6.1 GRAPHEMIC REPRESENTATION : DEVANĀGARĪ

a	a:	i	i:	u	u:	e	e:	o	o:
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	एं	ए	अं	ओ